Review of INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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OBJECTIVE DEVELOPMENTS ENABLE GREATER UNDERSTANDING IN THE UNITED NATIONS.

THE head of the Yugoslav delegation to the Tenth Session of the General Assembly, the State Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Koča Popović, received a TANJUG correspondent a few days before his departure from New York and answered a number of questions concerning the work of the General Assembly this year. The present Session began on September 20 and, according to a decision of the Assembly, is to be concluded by December 10.

QUESTION: What do you think of the general tone and character of the Tenth Session?

ANSWER: The general atmosphere and tone in its work are certainly better than in the past, and that is one of the important conditions for constructive cooperation.

QUESTION: Do you think that in the work done by the Assembly so far the tendencies to talk from positions of strength have been manifested?

ANSWER: They have — in the germ. The eliminating of these tendencies will be neither easy nor quick. Political understanding and activities are lagging behind objective developments and possibilities.

QUESTION: It was expected that this Session would bring about greater affirmation of small countries. Is this being realized?

ANSWER: Yes, it is. And that, at the same time, increases their political responsibility.

QUESTION: It seems that the admission of new members is one of the chief subjects at this Session. Do you see any practical possibilities for the solving of this question?

ANSWER: In my opinion, such possibilities exist. A solution to this problem should be sought in accordance with the proposals which have already been discussed in the Assembly, i. e. admission of a number of countries should be made possible.

(Twenty two countries have so far applied for membership of the United Nations. In his speech in the general debate the State Secretary, Koča Popović, has said that all countries „whose international status is not in doubt should be admitted").

QUESTION: What is your attitude towards the disarmament problem, and in what aspect would an agreement be possible?

ANSWER: I consider that an agreement should be sought by coordinating the proposals which are now before the Disarmament Sub-Committee.

(The Sub-Committee is considering a Soviet proposal for disarmament, President Eisenhower's proposal for exchanges of military information and aerial control, Eden's proposal for disarmament in a limited field, and Faure's proposal for the reduction of defence expenditures and for the granting of funds saved in this way for the economic development of the underdeveloped countries).

(Speaking in the general debate, Koča Popović proposed that at least an „agreement not to increase further the expenditures on armaments and armed forces ought to be reached").

QUESTION: What, in your opinion, is the chief obstacle to the consideration of concrete aspects of the disarmament problem, instead of the general ones?

ANSWER: The still great lack of confidence in political understanding, which I have already mentioned.

QUESTION: What do you consider to be the basic problem in the present phase of the discussion concerning the establishment of an Atomic Energy Agency?

ANSWER: The problem here lies in how to establish the closest possible relationship between the Agency and the United Nations. We shall set out our attitude on this matter in the Political Committee later on, perhaps sometime next week.

(In this respect, the Yugoslav, Burmese and Indonesian delegations submitted a draft resolution to the Political Committee, which states that the General Assembly should consider the Statute of the Agency, and that the Agency itself should be responsible to the General Assembly. There are three other resolutions on the same matter — the American-British, the Soviet and the Philippine).

QUESTION: In what way, in your opinion, should a compromise be sought between the existing proposals and resolutions?

ANSWER: It would be very important to find a compromise. I think that, for the present, it ought to be worked for by making the existing draft Statute as democratic as possible, although we consider that a radical change should be made in some of its basic principles.

(Koča Popović referred to the Statute of the Agency drawn up by the United States Government together with the governments of several other countries).

QUESTION: How do you account for the fact that comparatively few economic questions were treated at this Session?

ANSWER: In my opinion this is due to the Assembly's concentration on one of the fundamental economic issues — the development of the underdeveloped countries.

QUESTION: Do you think that there are possibilities for the establishment of a United Nations special fund for the economic development of underdeveloped areas?

(Replying to this question Koča Popović said that he had nothing to add to what Ambassador Brilej had said about this in the Economic-Financial Committee.

Question: The colonial questions seem to have caused some tension in that field of international relations. Is this of a temporary or permanent character?

ANSWER: The whole problem is of a long-term character, and the tension ought to be a temporary one.

QUESTION: How do you view the case of France? Do you see any possibilities for a speedy return of the French delegation to the Session?

ANSWER: We regret the departure of the French delegation from the Session. We hope and believe that a solution will soon be found.

(As is known, the French delegation demonstratively left the Session when, with a majority vote, the Assembly placed the question of Algeria on its agenda. The Yugoslav delegation voted with the majority).

QUESTION: An atmosphere of awaiting the meeting of the Foreign Ministers in Geneva has been created at the Session. What, in your opinion, can be expected from this meeting?

ANSWER: It can be expected that efforts to reconcile the views will be continued.

QUESTION: It has been noticed that you have had an exceptionally large number of „private" meetings and talks with the chiefs of other delegations. Can you tell us something about the character of your „private" contacts?

ANSWER: These meetings came as a result of the general wish for broader cooperation and consultations. They have proved to be very useful.

(During his stay in New York, the State Secretary, Koča Popović, had lengthy talks with the heads of the following delegations: Soviet — Molotov, American — Dulles and his deputy, Lodge, Indian — Menon, British — Nutting, Norwegian, Lange, Belgian — Spaak, Greek — Stefanopulos, Cuban — Portuondo, Egyptian — Favzi, Swedish — Unden, Polish — Nashkowsky, and others).

UNITED NATIONS DAY

J. ARNEJC

MANY statesmen and politicians take the opportunity of October 24 to give statements on the significance and role of the United Nations in order to express their opinions and emphasize their devotion to the ideas and principles on which this organization is based In some cases these statements are often contrary to these statesmen's activities in the United Nations. But whatever his activities, it is obvious today that no responsible statesman is in a position to rise openly against the United Nations and deny its usefulness and need for its existence. After ten years of existence the UN have fully justified the assertion that it would be necessary to create such an international organisation if it did not exist already.

When they were signing the Charter, the founders of the UN promised that they would be „tolerant" and live together in peace as good neighbours, which would imply that they will coexist regardless of social systems, regardless of whether they were rich or poor, big or small, economically developed or undeveloped. The Charter itself is a veritable textbook of peaceful coexistence and contains all principles which today constitute the basis of international relations as stated in the declarations of the individual states. Whether the United Nations will be efficient and mark further successes, or whether they will be limited to high flown phrases on paper will depend on the extent to which the individual countries adhere to the principles and aims of the Charter. The member countries are therefore responsible for the failure or success of the United Nations.

During the first decade of its existence the UN passed through a turbulent phase of cold war and somehow adapted their work and existence to those conditions. We were used at that time to regard the UN more as a platform on which accusations and counter-accusations were advanced, where proposals were given in such a way as to foist the blame for failure on the other side, and where all that would otherwise have remained unknown was disclosed to the world public. These were at least the dominant features of the UN agenda during the cold war period. In spite of this, however, the UN were still capable of doing much good work and registering major achievements as regards the acquisition of sovereignty by some new states, the checking of local conflicts and wars, the study and discussion of economic problems, and the promotion of human rights. They have thus become a moral factor with which all states, and particularly UN members had to count in their actions and whose resolutions in the long run have had a definite effect on the decisions of the national and state authorities.

New problems and new relations suddenly appeared in the first stage of relaxation of international tension. The reaction of individual countries, particularly the big ones, to these phenomena indicates the new difficulties with which the UN may have to cope in the future if it fails to find a new way and a constructive approach to the new problems. The Charter, however, contains many pointers, principles and recommendations for these apparently new and unforeseen issues, but it will nevertheless depend on the member countries whether they will be resolved or not. All these problems actually existed since the very inception of the UN organisation either within the organisation itself or without it. They existed even before the UN was created, but they gained their prominence and apparent novelty of late, since public attention is no longer absorbed by the recent acute cold war. They will continue to beset mankind, and demand their solution regardless of whether they will be dealt with by the UN or left to the countries concerned. Why, then, should the UN not deal with these problems in accordance with the Charter and its principles?

The tendencies shown at the present session which might cause apprehensions if the ideas and principles of the Charter do not prevail, refer primarily to the attitude towards the small countries in the United Nations. Consequently, they concern the equal rights of member states, i. e. one of the fundamental UN principles, as it is the objective of the UN to „promote friendly relations among nations based on the respect of equal rights", and „that they be the centre where the actions of nations directed towards the achievement of the common aims (i. e. consolidation of peace and international cooperation), will be coordinated".

The big powers enjoy definite rights, foreseen by the Charter itself and which the small powers do not intend to question.

The present attitude, the solidarity and cooperation of small countries in the United Nations are obvious proofs of their wish to take part in the solution of international problems, thus preventing the possibility of the solutions being made at their expense. This tendency is opposed by some of the big powers who contend that equality between small and only recently established states and the old, great civilized powers, as well as between countries with developed and underdeveloped economic systems is impossible. Such conceptions imply a conscious or subconscious classification of states according to the exclusive standards of western culture and civilization. It also seems incomprehensible to these big powers that small countries should interfere in issues which were until recently the exclusive concern of the big powers. They are slow to understand that it is vitally necessary for the small countries to interest themselves for questions on which the preservation of peace and promotion of international cooperation is contingent, as the latter constitute the foundations of their own further development. The solidarity of the small countries is likewise manifested as regards the attempts of third parties to interfere in their internal affairs. All these arguments champion the allegiance of the small countries to the United Nations.

The problem of colonialism against which ever stronger positions are being built within the UN is also closely linked with the role of small countries. Already at the founding of the UN, the British representative foresaw that colonialism will represent one of the most difficult problems which will confront the UN, and now this prediction is being fulfilled. The colonial powers consider every approach to this problem by the UN to be an uncalled for interference in their internal problems, although the Charter (Chapter XI) explicitly provides that the UN members are responsible for the welfare and progress of the non-self-governing territories. UN members are also obliged to see to it that the policy towards such territories is based on the general principle of good neighbourhood „while taking due care of the interests and well-being of the other parts of the world". The Charter also contains numerous provisions which stress and confirm the right of these peoples to self-determination, refering mainly to those peoples who are unable to freely express their will and who are still living in a state of colonial dependence. The violent reaction of the colonialist powers to the growing interest of the small countries for the enforcement of the principle of self-determination clearly indicates that a long and bitter struggle in the UN is imminent. This does not imply that

one should cherish the illusion that the discussion and recommendations of the United Nations may bring about the definite settlement of these questions, but it should nevertheless be stressed that it was the UN which greatly helped strengthening the consciousness of dependent peoples and their efforts to achieve their independence.

The problem of colonialism is closely connected with the development of the economically undeveloped countries. This is actually the field on which the third battle is being waged — the battle between the economically developed and backward countries. This conflict dates from the moment when the UN began studying the world economic situation and found that the major world problems stem from the division of the world into the world of wealth and the world of poverty. The advancement of economically backward countries is already a step towards their independence, not in the sense of autarchy, but in the sense of narrowing the present gap between the developed and backward countries. This gap is so wide that it can only be bridged by the concerted effort of the entire international community, within which the big and developed powers are primarily called upon to give their contribution. In the long run they would profit by this assistance as it would open to them vast new markets where only extremely limited ones exist today, owing to their minimum purchasing power. However, the big powers are also aware of the fact that economic advancement inevitably also necessitates the solution of political problems of backward and dependent territories. Hence their opposition to any radical solution of the problems of undeveloped countries.

Thus in fact the three problems actually constitute a single problem and only the solution of its economic aspect can enable the gradual and parallel solution of the other aspects, thus also eliminating the present antagonisms in the UN. The majority of small countries have only recently emerged from a colonial or semi-colonial status and are therefore well acquainted from their own experience with all the hardships and consequences of colonialism and are therefore the main representatives of the undeveloped countries thus coming into conflict, in one way or another, with the countries who are opposed to the solution of some or all of these problems. Such problems and conflicts are gaining increasing prominence in the UN, particularly in the present period when peoples are freed from fear of aggression or aggressive pressure from either side. The first reactions of the big powers in this phase of latent conflict are fairly violent. When the big powers finally realize the power of development and the inexorable march of progress they will have no other choice but to yield. The sooner they do so the better for them, as shown by the post-war experiences in this respect.

The UN are on the threshold of a new period of trials and complex tasks. As they have succeeded in overcoming the difficulties in the first ten years of their existence during the hard times of international tension, they will doubtless score new successes in the future. The road is weary and long, but the support of world public opinion which believes in the principles and aims of the UN will not be lacking.

The Problem of Algeria in the UNO

R. CEROVAC

THE benches of the French delegation to the Tenth Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations have been vacated in consequence of including the so-called Algerian question on its agenda, although, in fact, much more complex problems with which the United Nations is faced are involved. The question of Algiers was only an occasion for the demonstrative step of the French delegation, and the French were merely the representatives of a definite trend of thought in the United Nations.

Regardless of the formal and legal argument by which the French justified their withdrawal from the General Assembly, and on the basis of which they took the approval of the proposal to consider the Algerian question, unlike those of Morocco and Tunis, to be an act of interference in their internal affairs (since the Status of Algeria makes of it a part of the French territory), most of the delegations in the General Assembly held that the Algerian issue was a component part of a much wider problem, which is called colonialism. Within the scope of this problem, North Africa is a single unit, regardless of any territorial divisions. The historical development and the conditions under which this area was territorially divided and its various sections given different constitutional statutes, create, only in the general scope of the North African problem, certain differences in which formal and legal arguments can come into consideration. A meticulous constitutional and legal analysis of the problem, into which we have no intention of entering, would very likely reveal some differences between the territory involved and the mother country, and they would perhaps somewhat weaken the legal and formal arguments used. But the discussion on whether an item should be included in the agenda of the Session or not is only of a procedural character, and it does not allow of going into the essence of the item, so that in view of this the French argument had some justification. The fact that most of the delegations were of a different opinion does not mean that they had any deliberate intention to violate the Charter, but only that they were influenced by much deeper and principled reasons.

One of these reasons is the anti-colonial attitude, which is very strong in the United Nations, and which comes to expression not only in trusteeship problems, but in purely political matters as well. This attitude is the inevitable outcome of the awakening and appearance of new states and nations which would like to see other oppressed people get a chance to govern their own affairs independently. This attitude is also the expression of the wish of these nations to overcome their economic backwardness, and so bridge the gap which divides them from the progressive and advanced countries, the gap which is the cause of their dependence and of the instability of international relations, and which can cause disorders and upheavals in various parts of the world. The anticolonialism of many progressive countries of today does not mean merely a support to the struggle for the self-determination of peoples, but also an endeavour to help the development of the underdeveloped countries for it is only through such development that the population of dependent areas can become independent. Self-determination must have its economic basis if it is to be successful. The demand for the right to self-determination need not, and often cannot, be limited to areas outlined by purely administrative boundaries, and it is often spread beyond such boundaries, set down by the masters of the territories concerned, to include lands which make an economic, ethnic or other kind of unity. Such a view on some present problems is apt to weaken the purely formal arguments, which can sometimes have a strong legal basis.

Another reason for including the problem in the agenda of the Session is the principled attitude of some delegations, which hold that by supporting the demand of some countries for the consideration of a certain matter they do not declare their views on that matter. This principle is adhered to by most small countries because they consider that it affords them a possibility of having their problems and grievances considered by the World Organization and world public. For in that way, small countries get a

chance to explain their difficulties and their opinions before the greatest international forum, not to get its judgment, which it is not competent to give but to get its recommendations which may contribute to the solving of conflicts in a peaceful way, as well as to the elimination of the causes of such conflicts. This attitude favouring the consideration of all problems proposed to the Assembly is primarily based on the supposition that the problems are serious, and this can be judged by the state or states submitting them. This attitude is also the expression of the endeavours of small peoples to realize equality within the United Nations, which considers the equality for small and big countries to be one of its basic principles. It was precisely the differences in the interpretation of this principle that came to light in the discussion about Algeria, so that it may be taken as a sign causing apprehensions for the future relations in the Organization. The backwardness of some countries, which is the result of various factors, and not of their own faults, cannot be the reason for denying equal rights to such countries.

Owing to all this it is difficult to understand the sudden decision of the French delegation to leave the session of the General Assembly. The contribution of France to the solving of international problems in the United Nations is well known and generally recognised. The delegation which has always stood for the respect of the letter and the spirit of the Charter, and which has not shunned explaining its views even in cases when it was not so easily done should participate in the United Nations discussions, to which it was expected to make a positive contribution. The role of France in the time of „detente" has been very important, and it might have been even greater at this Session. Therefore, it can be said that the absence of France from the General Assembly is detrimental to France no less than to the United Nations. To see the difference between the significance of the role played by France in world affairs and the import of the question which was included in the agenda of the General Assembly, one need only take into account her contribution to the general easing of world tension. It is clear that the time at which a certain question is raised is of some importance as well. In the present state of international relations perhaps the time has not yet come to approach the solving of so delicate questions, and, therefore, the efforts to adjourn the debate on Algeria are not to be underestimated. A compromise can be reached which may satisfy both sides for the time being and make it possible for the French delegation to resume its place in the General Assembly. Such a solution would re-establish in the United Nations the evidently improved atmosphere that reigned at the beginning of this Session.

Freedom of the Sea and the UN Organisation

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DISCUSSIONS on the principle of freedom of the seas which represents one of the keystones of international law and whose classical forms are gradually acquiring a new substance by the development of international maritime law, have become increasingly frequent in the theory and practice of States at international conferences and particularly in the work of the UN.

The principle of freedom of the seas was not only recognized by legal theory but also by numerous internal and international legal decisions, as well as in international instruments such as the Brussels Declaration, the Washington Declaration of 1921, and the Atlantic Charter of 1941.

Inaugurated in the beginning of the XVII century by Grotius doctrine expounded in his well-known treatise „Mare Liberum" the principle of freedom of the seas opposed the then conceptions of Spain, Genoa, Venice, Britain, Norway and other maritime powers that certain countries are entitled to sovereignty over certain seas, and even whole oceans. This right was manifested in the obligation of other countries to request permission for free navigation and fishery from the usurper state. The applicants had to pay various tolls, call at certain ports, salute ships of the „mistress" of the seas, obey her rules, etc.

Among the attempts to defend this thesis theoretically one should primarily mention the British jurist John Selden and his well known work „Mare Clausum" (the Closed Sea).

However, the conception of freedom of the seas differed at given periods, each of which invested it with its own imprint. In the beginning freedom of the sea implied the abolishment of piracy, while subsequently manifesting the opposition to the pretensions of various countries to usurp monopoly of navigation and trade, or the exploitation of marine wealth (such tendencies were shown by Spain, Portugal, Venice, Genoa, Britain, Norway and others).

In the beginning of the XVIII century all countries finally adopted the principle of freedom of the seas in time of peace. However, respect of this principle was also claimed by neutrals in time of war, so that Catherine II invoked the freedom of the seas when forming the League of armed neutrality in 1780. At the time of the struggle for the abolishment of the white slave trade, the freedom of the seas was manifested by denying Great Britain the right to visit and search foreign ships. After World War I the concept of freedom of the seas underwent certain changes, as shown by the Washington Conference in 1922 where the tendency prevailed to limit the maximum global tonnage of various navies, the tonnages for certain categories of ships, as well as the number of crews. The conference even foresaw the prohibition of certain armament, as submarines, and the limitation of their use. The same conception of the freedom of the seas predominated at the London conference in 1930.

It is interesting to note that Roosevelt, while invoking the principle of freedom of the seas during the period of American neutrality in World War II, forbade German vessels to appear in the Western hemisphere. Today the principle of freedom of the seas implies the right of all countries to the high seas, i. e. all seas with the exception of territorial waters and protective belts in certain latitudes, both in the active and passive sense, without subjecting the high seas to the exclusive sovereignty of any state whatever.

As this principle was interpreted in different ways thus often leading to misunderstandings among countries, the theory and practice of states added four basic freedoms of the open seas to the general principle of freedom of the sea: a) freedom of navigation on the high seas, subject to the exclusive control, in the absence of a convention to the contrary, of the State whose flag is carried by the vessel; b) freedom of fisheries on the high seas, subject to the same control; c) freedom to lay submarine cables on the high seas; d) freedom of aerial circulation over the high seas.

Apart from these four basic freedoms, a number of rules were also elaborated in the theory of international law and practice of individual states, which are almost generally recognized today either as positive international law, or as its further elaboration in the codification projects of the UN International Law Commission. Far from limiting or even abolishing the freedoms of the open seas their expansion actually guarantees new uses of the open seas both in the active and passive sense. Needless to say these innovations were made in the common interest of all maritime nations, and the list of new uses will be steadily increased parallel with the development and requirements of modern technology.

The main principle, i. e. that of free navigation guarantees to ships of all nations that they will not be

seized or otherwise impeded in their regular and peaceful passage on the high seas. Only a warship flying the same flag is entitled to control a vessel on the high seas. Unfortunately we must say that freedom of navigation was most frequently violated by various navies and that such incidents have not ceased to date. This is testified by the numerous memoranda and notes submitted to the individual governments and the UN Secretariat on the violation of the principle of free navigation, as well as the remarks of some Governments on the draft rules governing free navigation on the open seas. This is even more concretely illustrated by the statistical data released by the English Lloyd, according to which the Government of Nationalist China illegally seized seventy merchant vessels belonging to various nations in the period from August 23, 1949 to December 16, 1953. These bottoms were captured mainly because they shipped goods to the PR of China, in other words because they pursued peacetime trade activities.

The notes of the Polish Government submitted to the UN International Law Commission (May 6, 1955) contend that its ships „Praca" and „President Gottwald", and the Soviet tanker „Tuapse" did not violate the territorial waters of Nationalist China nor could their activities be termed in any way as piracy. Therefore they consider the seizure of their vessels by the warships of Nationalist China as a violation of the principle of free navigation. In order to prevent such activities by any Navy in the future, the Polish notes propose an amendment of Art. 22 of the draft regime of the high seas prepared by the UN International Law Commission, enabling this rule to be applied both for the suppression of the slave trade and the abolishment of piracy, and revising the definition of piracy in the sense that an act of piracy must not necessarily be committed by a private person but also by an official person.

According to the Polish proposal, the definition of pirate would cover not only private but also official persons. Consequently, an act of piracy could also be committed by a member of the crew of a warship. The Polish proposal of course referred to the members of the navy of Nationalist China.

A similar example was provided in the recent past by the German submarines in the Spanish Civil War. It was demanded that they be proclaimed pirate vessels as they attacked the merchant ships of neutral powers on the Mediterranean. This definition of piracy was also inserted in the International Agreement in Nyon on November 14, 1937.

Acceptance of the Polish proposal would mean significant innovation of international law, broadening the definition of piracy. This definition would then run in some such terms: „a pirate is a private or official person who for the purpose of acquiring material or other gains commits an act of violence against persons or their property on sea or land, but coming from the sea."

Owing to the violation and arbitrary interpretation of the principle of free navigation, international law had already established certain exceptions, i. e. the cases when this right should cease and be replaced by control (police measures) on the high seas.

Theory foresees the following cases: a) when there are serious grounds for suspecting that a certain vessel is piratical; b) if a ship is found in forbidden zones which are considered suspicious according to international agreements on the abolishment of slavery, and c) if a vessel flies a foreign flag while refusing to hoist its own, although actually belonging to the same nationality as the warship.

In the first and third case, every warship is entitled to act against a suspicious ship, while in the second it can do so only if there is an obligation assumed by the respective state ensuing from an international agreement. Various other exceptions are also foreseen as when inter-state obligations are in question, only in this case they function inter partes. However, the tendency was noted to invest all these cases with a universal character and codify them by the UN International Law Commission.

In all cases of control by warships and other official vessels on the high seas, a definite procedure is foreseen with which the latter must comply. This procedure is fixed to a certain extent in the draft rules of the UN International Law Commission.

The first phase of this procedure consists in asking the vessel under suspicion to hoist its flag (vérification de pavillon). If grounds for suspicion persist, the warship can also examine the ship's papers. The last phase of visit, i. e. control of cargo, can only follow if suspicion still remains after the examination of the ship's papers.

It should be stressed, however, that the enforcement of these measures of control is an extremely delicate matter, because apart from diplomatic protests the Government of the ship in question is also entitled to an indemnity (which is often substantial) if the guilt of its ship is not proved.

The extension of the right of sovereignty of a state over vessels flying its flag on the high seas is also considered as an advancement in the right of free navigation. The same also applies to the recognition of the right of the littoral state to protect the marine wealth of the high seas adjacent to its territorial waters, and its being authorized to determine the contiguous zone for the exercise of definite rights. The rights of littoral states relating to the continental shelf (for the extraction of petroleum and other minerals and purse seining), and the right to lay submarine pipelines under the high seas, are also considered as an extension of the principle of freedom of the seas.

All countries do not agree with these extensions of the freedom of the seas. Some big powers, primarily Great Britain and the USA, consider that this extension of the right of the free seas in favour of the littoral states violates the general principle of freedom of the sea in its classic substance. It is interesting to note that Professor Scelle (France) as a member of the International Law Commission does not advocate this opinion but defends the interests of the littoral countries with regard to exceptional rights in the exploitation of marine wealth.

The fact that these powers, particularly England, did not always entertain the same views concerning the freedom of the seas, even in its classic form, is best testified by the controversy between the Englishman Selden in his treatise „Mare Clausum", and the Dutchman Grotius' thesis „Mare Liberum". At that time Great Britain claimed sovereignty over the so-called British seas. It was only much later, when it created a strong navy, that Great Britain abandoned the attitude of self-defence by means of a „protective belt" and adopted the contrary principle of freedom of the seas, thus de facto precluding all eventual pretensions of other states to any part of the seas, in excess of the three mile limit fixed and proclaimed by Britain as an alleged rule of international law.

Recent Developments

The representatives of the big powers have affirmed of late that the concept of freedom of the sea is contrary to the claim of the littoral states to be given priority in the protection of the marine wealth of the high seas adjacent to their territorial waters for the purpose of preventing an over-intensive exploitation, as well as to their claim for priority in the exploitation of these resources. At the same time the littoral states refute the assertion of the big powers that the principle of freedom of the seas denies their natural rights, thus actually splitting the powers concerned into two camps: the big maritime powers with some small ones on the one side, and the majority of small maritime powers on the other. The big powers consider that the classical interpretation of freedom of the seas with the minimum exceptions provides them with the greatest possibilities of embracing large sea-areas. Consequently the vested rights of the littoral states should be reduced as much as possible. As notable technical equipment and resources are necessary for the exploitation of the high seas, this will only be practicable for the big and well-equipped maritime powers. Consequently, the small and technically under-developed countries are practically unable to profit by the rights ensuing from the principle of freedom of the seas, as interpreted by the big powers.

For this reason, the small powers must seek to compensate this technical inequality. The unilateral acts which reserved the maximum possible limit of territorial waters, as well as the establishment of special protective zones, were attempts in this direction. However, the big maritime powers are particularly opposed to this unilateral course of regulation, which, they affirm, invariably brings certain advantages to the country which enacts such measures. That is why they propose the conclusion of regional agreements which would bind both the littoral states and all other powers concerned in a given area of exploitation. We must add however, that it would be a great mistake to believe that regional agreements could completely compensate for technical inequality, as they will again enable the

domination of the big and technically developed powers, thus actually ensuring their monopoly by virtue of technical superiority. All this leads to the conclusion that owing to technical inequality, the only alternative for the littoral states is to appropriate the largest possible area of the contiguous zone for the exclusive use of their inhabitants.

The attitude of the big powers concerning the attempts of the littoral states to ensure greater rights in the high seas adjacent to their territorial waters is best illustrated by the recent UN International Technical Conference on the Conservation of the Living Resources of the Sea which was held in Rome on April 18, 1955.

The objective of this conference was to resolve all outstanding scientific and technical problems relating to the preservation of marine wealth; it was achieved at the end of the session, when the necessary resolutions were passed, recognizing the need for protective measures, and sanctioning the international measures already taken for the preservation of marine wealth.

As for the protection of marine resources on the high seas, the conference reached the conclusion that it is essential that the states concerned undertake joint action on the study of marine wealth, including statistical polls and the drafting of regulations. It also indicated that the conclusion of new Conventions where necessary would also be expedient. As the present international system of fishery protection and regulation is based on the geographical and biological location of fishing sites, so that conclusion of agreements for every individual case was necessary, the conference concluded that this way of approaching the problem is best from the standpoint of science and technology. This system is namely based on the conventions concluded among the countries concerned.

Consequently, in this case the conference rejected the principle of general rules applying to all seas and all types of fishery, and pronounced itself in favour of specific systems of protection in accordance with direct geographical and biological factors. However, this does not apply to the narrow seas for which the drafting of special rules has been foreseen.

The Conference likewise sanctioned the promotion of biological research as stipulated by the existing conventions, and laid down certain principles on which the future conventions should be based. According to these principles the future conventions would be concluded either for the types of fisheries capable of individual identification and regulation, or for limited areas whose limits will be determined by certain laws of science and technology. Recourse will be taken to the latter method in case difficulties arise owing to the mingling of various types of marine fauna.

Consequently, the biological limits of a fishery would have to be objectively determined by scientific research.

The conference proclaimed that it is not qualified to determine the limits of territorial waters, or the extent of jurisdiction of littoral states over fisheries, and the legal status of the waters overlaying the continental shelf. The interest of the littoral states for the marine wealth of the adjacent high seas was recognized in view of the fact that the over-intensive exploitation of the high seas also leads to the impoverishment of the littoral belt. No conclusions were reached on the subject, however, as the members of the conference split into two more or less equal groups. Apart from this, the conference concluded that its reports and explanations of some international conventions and instruments should not be considered as their legal interpretation.

It is characteristic that the conference failed to give any pronouncement on the possibility of establishing a general international body for fisheries which would have regulating powers. The conference limited itself to the adoption of voluntary arbitration by the members and a group of unbiased and skilled fishery experts.

In view of the facts stated above it seems that the draft fishery regulations of the UN International Law Commission will have to undergo some major revisions.

One may primarily expect the rejection of the priority rights of littoral states with regard to the protection of marine wealth and the exercise of control over the exploitation of the adjacent high seas. However, it would seem that the conference will leave the determination of the limit of territorial seas for the exclusive fishery requirements of the littoral state, as well as the rights and duties of the littoral and other interested states, to the International Law Commission. In our opinion it was nevertheless the duty of marine biology to determine the extent of fisheries according to the geographical and biological principles, even if differently for various areas. Last, the project of founding a special international body for fishery legislation would have to be abandoned and replaced by an ad hoc international court of arbitration which would deal exclusively with international fishery disputes.

All this clearly indicates that the Rome Conference failed to achieve any headway in the field of fishery preservation thus confirming our misgivings that the regulation and protection of marine wealth will be limited to regional agreements headed by advisory commissions and councils, while the principle of freedom of the seas and fishery will be further favoured by the big maritime powers at the expense of the small and underdeveloped maritime countries.

Hence the only remaining efficient means for the protection of marine wealth at the disposal of the underdeveloped littoral states consists in their claim for the extension of their rights to a broader area beyond their territorial waters.

The demand was recently advanced, this time by the big powers, to broaden the concept of freedom of the seas by permitting states to conduct atom bomb experiments on the high seas. Such experiments were carried out by the USA on several occasions resulting in the contamination of large sea areas by radio activity. The direct sufferers by it were some Japanese fishermen who operated in the danger zone. The fish caught was also contaminated as well as a vast quantity of marine wealth within the zone of radiation.

The representatives of some countries considered this contrary to the classic principle of freedom of the seas as well as to the generally accepted international prohibition of polluting the sea. They affirm that this applies exclusively to fuel oil, but that these rules can also be applied analogously to all other forms of contamination which are stronger and more dangerous, and which might incur incalculable losses to people and their property, as well as the resources which make the common property of mankind.

If we leave aside the narrow legal standpoint and contemplate the political repercussions of the A-Bomb experiments as a grim memento to all statesmen and peoples of the destructive effect of nuclear warfare, then the sacrifices made as a result of these experiments, will be negligible as compared to the suffering of mankind in a new atomic world war.

We therefore consider that this new use of the high seas should be entered in international codification as a further extension of the freedom of the seas in the interest of the entire peace-loving humanity.

In its broadest sense the principle of freedom of the seas implies the freedom of each state and its citizens to the active and passive exploitation of the sea or its bed and subsoil, provided that this right should not be abused so as to prevent other countries and their citizens from using the sea and its products.

Nonetheless, freedom of the seas is not unlimited in practice, as in this case it would imply the right of every country and each of its citizens to exploit the high seas to the extent and degree they wish, regardless of other citizens entitled to the same rights and of the consequences of such a practice for mankind. Such a state of affairs would actually lead to anarchy and destruction of marine wealth and would represent a serious threat for navigation. The need to introduce legal regulation in the high seas has therefore long since been recognized. This does not imply the negation of its freedom, but on the contrary its affirmation. While this was so far practicable on the basis of international contractual law, the UN have assumed the task of regulating the matter on a universal basis, by codifying the rules on the freedom of the sea.

It seems that thanks to the efforts of the UN member countries and International Law experts, we are on a good way to achieve this in the foreseeable future through the UN International Law Commission.

OPINIONS ON CURRENT PROBLEMS

MORE ABOUT SPAIN

Fernando VALERA

Minister in the Spanish Republican Government

A very interesting character is that Pero Grullo, who, as a collection of proverbs states, can say great truths. „Pero Grullo", people say, „calls the clenched hand a fist". He was first brought upon the stage by Juan de la Enzina, apparently sometime towards the end of the 15 th century, and later the great Quevedo rehabilitated him in his work „The Dream of Death". One of Pero Grullo's truths say that

> Much has been left to us
> by the old prophecies:
> saying that in our day
> all will be as God wills.

Quevedo says that there is an excellent moral behind this apparently naive saying: „If the prophecies come true, what more will there be to be desired? If everything comes to be as God wills, then things will always be just, good and blessed, and not as dictated by the Devil, money and greed. For today, there is least of what He would wish, and most of what we ourselves want against His will. Money is the desire of all, because it loves and is being loved, and nothing is done against its will".

In France sayings of this kind are called the „truths of Monsieur de la Palisse". They play a noble role, pointing out to corrupted minds the existence of some pure and simple truths, of which those most evident are least known.

All this came to my mind when some time ago I read — to say the least — some impudent answers the Caudillo gave to the American journalist, Mr. Laurence, and which this journalist spread to all the corners of the globe, without trying to verify the „true state of affairs", as it is so strictly being done whenever something is to be written on behalf of the Spanish Republic. I begin to believe that this, for the West „sufficient proof by fact" is nothing else but an excuse to justify the moral slumber of the present-day politics. He who asks what is to be done, one philosopher used to say, shows that he does not want to do what should be done; and so proofs for evident truths are often being sought just because there is a secret wish not to admit them. Self-evident truths do not call for proofs; they are recognized as true as soon as they are felt, just as is the case with the sayings of Pero Grullo.

Facts are so obviously distorted in the said interview that an attempt to refute them would seem an insult to the intellectual and moral conceptions of the reader. It will, therefore, be much better, and in keeping with logic, to point out some of the assertions of the interviewed man, and their falseness will manifest itself.

That the Caudillo did not rise against communism, which was almost non-existent in Spain before 1936, can be shown not only by statistical data concerning the elections held some months earlier or by the small number of communist deputies in the Republican Cortes, but also by two other facts, which are usually neglected when the Spanish affairs are discussed: first, that on July 18, 1936, when the civil war broke out, the Republic of Spain was one of the few Western countries which had neither diplomatic nor consular relations with the Soviet Union, and, secondly, that the manifesto of the insurgent generals made no mention of the communist danger at all. How strange that a movement, at its very birth, should forget one of its primary aims!

That the citizens of Spain do not enjoy any of the freedoms accepted by the members of the United Nations or UNESCO is as clear as daylight, even if one looks towards that country from afar.

There is no religious freedom. President Eisenhower would be a second-rate citizen if he were in Spain, simply because he belongs to the Protestant Church. The former President, Truman, and many British princes and kings would be criminals because they belong to the Masonic ranks.

There are no political freedoms. All democratic and liberal parties, including the moderate and conservative, were dissolved and forced into illegality, and their members eliminated or exiled. Not only the Socialists, who rule in the most fortunate and progressive countries of Europe, but even the followers of Mr. Churchill — the Conservatives, Monarchists — and of late Premier de Gasperi — the Democratic Christians would, if they lived in Spain, be outlawed and persecuted.

There are no trade union freedoms. Only the official trade union, which is directed and controlled by the totalitarian state, is allowed. If the American unions acted on the unfortunate Iberian peninsula, they would have to pay for their „crimes" in prisons, or, at best to endure a conditional freedom, just as many committees of the General Union of Workers, National Confederation of Labour and Solidarity of the Basque Workers.

There is no freedom of thought. Books must be approved by three absurd and anachronistic censorships: phalangist, military and clerical. Unless they follow the narrow lines of the clerical-militarist ideology, which arbitrarily identifies itself with Hispanicism and Catholicism, literature and philosophy can do nothing but twaddle in an empty way about a new style, or write in a hermetic baroque style, among whose Solomonic decorations and columns rebellion may sometimes slip through.

There is no freedom of press. All the traditionally liberal papers, like „El Heraldo de Madrid", „El Diluvio" of Barcelona, „El Liberal", „El Mercantile Valenciano", „El Pueblo" of Valencia whose founder was Blasco Ibanez, and hundreds of others were confiscated, and their owners either died in poverty or are still languishing in prisons or exile. It is surprising to see that the Western world was so shocked when Peron attacked only one paper in Buenos Aires, and that, at the same time, it approves by its silence hundred of similar attacks against freedom and property, attacks which are taking place in Spain.

Mr. Laurence could have convinced himself of all these Pero Grullo's truths if he had only asked the interviewed man some simple questions such as: whether the Franco government would allow any Protestant Church to perform its rites freely in Spain, whether it would give its consent to set up Masonic organizations, to form political parties like those in the Western countries, to allow trade unions to function in the American, British or French way, to publish independent papers as in the time of the Constitutional Monarchy and Republic. The Caudillo's answer would certainly have been in the negative, and he would have justified it by saying that all that is not necessary to the Spanish people who have identified themselves with their government, and that all those evil freedoms were the cause of the decadence of modern life, from which Spain has been saved by providence. Thus, behind his sarcasm lurks the contempt of Western democracy, the which, curiously, tries to construe his contempt as flattery.

I repeat, it is not necessary to use statistics, inquiry commissions or any other means invented by international organizations whenever they are not willing to see the truths of Pero Grullo. Factual proofs are superfluous when things are in principle as they are, and when they cannot be different in view of the origin, constitution and beha-

Dj. A. Kun: Fascists in Spain

viour of the Franco regime, which was imposed on Spain in a civil war supported and maintained by foreign totalitarian dictators who were overthrown in the Second World War. In Spain there is now only one religion, one fascist political party, one trade union and one, phalangist, kind of press — all imposed on the citizens by force. If certain traces of freedom are found there at all, these are but exceptions; the Spanish tyranny is such that it places the country before the tragical dilemma: to be satisfied with slavery or to accept a revolution.

A POORLY INFORMED STATESMAN

All Caudillo's statements about present and past events in Spain reveal that he is not at all acquainted with the nation he rules. In spite of what he told Mr. Laurence, any statistical handbook will show that in the first 36 years of this century Spain had been experiencing its demographic, cultural, social, economic and political revival, which was interrupted when the reactionary classes, led by barbaric egoism and aided by foreign fascism started the civil war. To verify this one need only go through the year books of the Geographic and Statistical Institutes, and compare the values of commodities — the real values, and not those that are being printed on devaluated pesetas.

This comparison will have to be made some other time in order to inform those who are not well acquainted with economic affairs. One example will suffice here, that of the changing indices of prices and wages. According to experts in the Ministry of Labour the index of wages was 183,82 in 1952 as against 100 in 1936, and in the same period the index of prices jumped from 100 to 579,60, which shows that the purchasing power of wages in 1952 was only 31,72% of their purchasing power at the moment when the Caudillo decided to „save Spain". Subsequent increases in wages were not enough even to compensate for the further increase in prices.

Similarly, the Caudillo is mistaken when, accepting wrong information from the enemies of Hispanicism, he blames the Bourbon Monarchy and the Liberal revolution for all the misfortunes of Spain. Facts point to something quite different, and show that the Austrian clerical, inquisitional and totalitarian dynasty had, during its two centuries of rule, brought Spain into the worst plight in its history. The country which, with the advent of Charles I, forced admiration and fear of the world by its theologians, military leaders, conquerors, navigators, poets, humanists and mystics, as well as by its cortes, communes, autonomous kingdoms and its civil and personal rights, was after the death of Charles II transformed into a poor, almost unpopulated desert, where intelligence was replaced by folly, virtue by hypocrisy, belief by prejudice, honour by arrogance, the people by the Court and the kings by the privileged. It was then a nation despised by the European kings, who, in the war for the throne, stooped like vultures to tear its carcass apart.

Facts and figures show that after the establishment of the French monarchy the country steadily advanced through two centuries until it reached the greatest prosperity in the brilliant but short five year period of the Republic. The indices showing the increase in population and improvements in public health, wealth, education from 1715 to 1936 trace a number of rising curves, interrupted from time to time by periodic movements of the totalitarian Hispanicism, whose last and most tragical manifestation was the clerical and militarist revolt led by the Caudillo.

It was shown by indisputable figures, and I had the honour to do so in the Cortes some weeks before the revolt, that Spain was then progressing as never before, in spite of the world crisis which could not but affect it. At the same time I warned the public that the civil war which was being prepared would have fatal consequences. I remember that my words attracted the attention of Calvo Sotello, that they were approved by the paper „El Debate" and its unfortunate editor, the deputy Bermudes Caneta who only several weeks later became a victim of the merciless hate kindled by our civil war.

THE HYPOCRISY OF ORGANIC DEMOCRACY

And now let us turn to the last item of the said interview, the item which concerns the Caudillo's definition of his own regime, by which he wanted to present it as some kind of organic democracy. This expression has for long been known in the history of Spanish politics. I myself supported a kind of organic democracy in my speeches and articles from 1925 to 1930, as well as in various books and brochures that were printed at that time, but I never pretended to be the initiator of the idea. Don Felix Gordon Ordas, the present Prime Minister of the Republican Government in emigration, in 1931 submitted to the Constitutional Assembly a thorough proposal for the organization of the state as a social and organic democracy, a proposal which was not accepted, but to which, as far as I know, Primo de Rivera, the founder of the Falange, gave a lot of attention. Some time ago Don Salvador de Madariaga described in his book „L' Angoisse à la Liberté" very admirably the characteristics of an organic reform of modern democracy.

What replaced the liberal republican democracy in Spain is an organic tyranny. Organic democracy stands for free citizens, capable of organizing themselves socially and politically in various institutions on a democratic basis, from family, corporations, trade unions, municipalities, regional and provincial governments to the federal government. Things in Spain are now quite different. We have already said that there are no other political parties, trade unions, laws and institutions save those approved by Franco and his Falange, which, through a number of organisms arising from his absolute power, grant to the people so much sovereignty as it suits their purpose. Thus, elections, plebiscites, and referenda, when Franco chooses to tolerate them (like the plebiscites of his predecessor General Primo de Rivera, the „good dictator", as he is now called to distinguish him from the present one), are nothing else but „organic mechanisms" through which Franco expresses confidence to his own regime.

We shall take one sole example, the example of Cortes. Mr. Laurence, as well as certain American senators, seem to be „convinced" that there is a trace of democracy in Franco's Cortes. But to the British member of Parliament, Mr. Hynd, three questions were enough to find out how much democracy exists in the said Cortes. Here are his questions and the answers he got: How often do you meet in session? — Once a year. Is it within your power to reject any bill? — In principle, yes, Sir. Have you ever done so? — No.

Briefly, these artificial creations, the Cortes are thus formed: the Caudillo chooses electors to approve, and not to elect, candidates who must satisfy definite conditions, and who join, as elected representatives, the ranks of those nominated by the Caudillo himself or by organs he has named or constituted. There are, as we see, two kinds of procurators: those named by the dictator directly, and those he appoints through his mandatories. And this is what he calls organic democracy.

No, there is no parliament or anything to resemble it in Spain. The so called Cortes are not even like those that existed in the Middle Ages. They represent the Spanish people less than the one time Toledan Councils of the Western Gothic Kingdom, whose members at least represented the Church and the nobility, and were, to a certain extent, independent of the sovereign.

The Cortes are not representative bodies either by their origin, or by their rights and functions. All experts in law who studied this question agree in this; to show that they are in the right one need only read the decree of July 17, 1942, whose preamble states that the legislative power is vested in the chief of the state, or the rules of January 5, 1943, which regulated, that is, ordered the functioning of the Cortes.

The prominent British author, E. Allison Pierce, whose propensities are rather conservative, described this unique organization very accurately as a „parliament without legislative powers, with members who are not elected at national elections", and „who cannot represent the people or govern in an effective way. Seven hundred years ago more progressive ideas about a parliamentary government existed in Spain".

Pater Baltazar Gracia (1584—1658), the Spanish Jesuit and philosopher, called the people who were always ready to approve what other people say Yes Men. And so, the most accurate definition of the present Spanish Cortes would be the following: Bodies of Yes Men organized by the Caudillo to give votes of confidence to his own government.

WHY DOES THE SPANISH PROBLEM STILL EXIST?

I would not like to conclude this commentary without saying something about the most tempting aspect of the present day behaviour of the Western Powers towards Spain. The Spaniards cannot understand why the demand that many disputes which arose during the Second World War or in the cold war period should be settled through free elections is not made in the case of Spain. There is in this a great deal of humiliation, which the patriots cannot tolerate. They will never accept the imputation that the Spaniards cannot be a free nation.

Why, the Negro tribes of Africa, which lived a primitive life in jungles not so long ago, now enjoy the right, and we Spaniards are glad they do, to elect their parliaments at free elections, and to proclaim their constitutions in sovereign assemblies. The same right is enjoyed by the nations of Asia and the Pacific as soon as they emerge from colonialism, although they have no civil or political experiences. The right is given even to militarist Germany, which was aggressor three times and which caused two world wars. Only Spain, whose people fought Hitler's aggression for thirty-two months and so gave time to the Western world to arm itself and contributed to the victory of the allied democracies; Spain, which populated new worlds, the mother nation, the example of civil virtues, which had a parliament before England, civil freedoms before France, universities before Germany, a renaissance before Italy, and religious toleration before the Reform, is the nation so low and poor that it is considered incapable of promulgating its own laws or electing its own governments.

But no, patriotism will not resign in face of such humiliation. The Spaniards have the right to believe that the opposition of the dictator and his international protectors against free elections reveals that they themselves are convinced that the people are against the present regime and in favour of the Republic. The constant suppression of civil freedoms and the abolition of consulting public opinion are in themselves a kind of plebiscite: the people are not allowed to speak because it is known that they would speak for the Republic. As a result, various diplomatic devices are being invented instead of embarking upon the right and simple road of consulting the people's will in order to settle all the remaining conflicts.

Not so long ago, a Minister in the Spanish Republican Government in emigration said to numerous and select foreign personalities: „Those who are really acquainted with the Spanish problems are aware that there is no force capable of breaking the pride and righteousness of the Spaniards. No amount of treason, money, injustice or poverty can do that. Let no government, international organization, friend or patriot tired by this long adventure or enemy embittered by our donquixotic stubbornness, be swayed by illusions: the Republican Government in emigration exists and will exist until the Spanish people get the opportunity of expressing their political will through free elections. The fate has imposed on a handful of Spaniards the difficult and historical task of defending the right of the republican legality, and they will never fail in that duty. Recognized by governments of several friendly countries, and supported by the intellectual élite of the world, or alone and slandered by enemy propaganda, the Spanish Republican Government in emigration will exist — in a palace, in a hut or under the arch of a ruined bridge — until justice has been restored in Spain, a country which deserves, more than any other on the earth, to be allowed to exercise the rights of a free nation, to decide freely under what regime it wishes to live, and to elect and periodically renew its authentic and legal rulers".

BLOC POLICY OR ACTIVE COEXISTENCE

Carl BONNEVIE

Ex-President of the Court of Appeal, ex-Member of Parliament, Norway

ALMOST every Norwegian is fully aware today that the NATO has developed into something entirely different from what was originally envisaged. The admission of Greece and Turkey, the conflict in Indo-China in which France at one time enjoyed the moral support of Norway, as well as the developments in Algeria and Morocco, all testify to the foregoing conclusion.

Although strong reasons were advanced in 1949 in favour of Norway's adherence to the NATO, the Norwegians are today entitled and perhaps also obliged to re-examine their present position carefully, and to ask themselves whether it would perhaps be better if they would ensure a freer position on the world scene, by means of negotiations with their allies and further international cooperation within the framework of the United Nations. It is therefore understandable that Norway follows the Yugoslav policy of active coexistence with the greatest interest.

It would be illusory to consider that all free countries who at present do not belong to the eastern bloc will gradually join the western bloc. We must realize once for all that there are other things in this world besides the two blocs, and the undeveloped and colonial countries. It is therefore of great importance for us in the West to cooperate in the interest of peace with all countries who do not belong to any bloc and do not want to join one.

HOW TO MAKE SUCH COOPERATION EFFECTIVE?

We Norwegians are not only individualists but also universalists. Therefore we find that the UN suits us better than the NATO. We will cite the following example in support to this statement: the NATO countries have their Nordic headquarters in the vicinity of Oslo. And one can already hear a lively and critical discussion in our country whether the German officers, — our acquaintances from the time of occupation, will appear one day in these headquarters. We would prefer the UN to build their Nordic headquarters in our capital. Another example: thanks to the financial aid of the western powers we have built a

number of important airfields in our country. In case of war, our NATO allies will be able to use these airfields. It would have been far more logical and better for us if foreign troops were able to build such air bases only with the previous approval of the UN Security Council.

Both the NATO member-countries and the non-bloc countries are today confronted with two important tasks. First, all peoples, and particularly the workers must work for the strengthening of the UN Organization. The Norwegian politicians failed in this respect. The UN General Assembly is used all too frequently as a rostrum for representatives of countries with different ideas. In point of fact the blocs enjoy greater power and authority than the Security Council itself. Such a situation is contrary to the UN principles. In my opinion tribute should be paid to the former UN Secretary General who continued to insist during his term of office on the setting up of an international UN armed force to be foreseen by the Charter.

The Acheson Plan which was called forth by the Korean conflict and carried out later on, showed clearly that it would be practically possible to affirm the power and authority of this international organisation by the use of military contingents of the UN member countries.

International conscription is no longer an utopian idea, and should be considered a political necessity. But this international army would go into action only when the protection of moral, as well as the formal right against aggression is involved.

Many will contend that it is illusory to strengthen the military power and authority of the United Nations. We can reply that it is more illusory to consider it possible to wage a struggle against bloc policy successfully without strengthening the United Nations. The USA will certainly not be willing to abandon their bases on the Pacific only to do a favour to the Eastern bloc. But there is a possibility of an alternative solution: to place all important military bases not located within the frontiers of the respective country under the direct control of the Security Council. This system of controls would include such bases as Gibraltar, Suez, Cyprus, etc.

The second problem is that of disarmament. This task seems all the more important as an entirely new situation has been created in this domain. It is superfluous to argue that atomic weapons, and particularly the H-bomb, let alone the cobalt bomb, would make another World War into a world catastrophe of unimaginable extent. It is sufficient to recall an extremely significant article by the Viennese University Professor dr. Hans Tirring, published in the July-August 1955 double issue of the „Review of International Affairs" entitled „World Peace or Destruction". Allow me to quote the following passage by the well-known nuclear physicist:

„First, the qualitative and quantitative role of human material in relation to the gigantic war machine is steadily diminishing... Second, the advantage of the means of mass destruction over the defence weapons has acquired such proportions that efficient defence can no longer be imagined... Both big powers, the USA and the Soviet Union, have their own apparatus of retaliation, which is far less vulnerable than the nation as a whole..."

The problem of disarmament must not be limited to restricting the armaments of the big powers. It is therefore natural that the small countries should consider the gradual and mutual liquidation of bloc policy as an integral part of the disarmament problem.

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Such an approach to the problem is of particular importance for the Nordic countries. In spite of their mutual friendship and close cooperation, the Scandinavian peoples are disunited at present with regard to many foreign political problems, this being a consequence of allied and bloc policies. Sweden, the biggest and militarily strongest Nordic country is pursuing, under the leadership of its Foreign Minister Mr. Unden, an extremely cautious policy, strongly reminiscent of the Swiss policy of neutrality. And we know that Switzerland is not a member of the United Nations. The other Nordic countries, as Finland for instance, have also their alliances.

Norway can contemplate the liquidation of bloc policy only on the basis of reciprocity. It would not be easy for Norway, who is bound by treaty to the NATO until 1969, to initiate a discussion on its withdrawal from the latter, if the Eastern countries, such as Finland and Czechoslovakia, were not given the same chance. If we contemplate the prospects of future, then we cannot demand the return to the old passive policy of neutrality which is almost invariably contrary to the principle of UN solidarity. Let us hope that Sweden will realize that against an obvious attack by a big power there also exists a moral obligation to solidarity, in order to prevent such an attack and repel the aggressor. What successes could be achieved if Nordic foreign policy were united.

I am convinced that the policy of active coexistence championed by the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia also recognizes the principle of UN solidarity. This means that, from India through Yugoslavia to the far North, the people work, we can say, from different points of departure for one and the same cause — our peace and world peace.

Nordic Cooperation and Nordic Attitude towards Asia

Fin MOE
President of the Foreign Political Committee of the Norwegian Parliament and Member of the Executive Committee of Norwegian Workers' Party

COOPERATION among the Scandinavian countries may be taken as a vivid example of regional collaboration which has yielded favourable results so far. There is also a sound natural basis for cooperation among the Scandinavian countries. Apart from the fact that they are located in the same area, these countries are also alike in size, they have the same economic problems, their history is for the most part common to them all, their language nearly the same so that they do not need translators. Cooperation among these countries developed informally for a long time, through private organisations, various officials, government members etc. We also have a great many identical legal regulations, social legislation for instance; no passports are required for inter-Scandinavian travel, there is a common labour market etc. A joint school commission which controls all history textbooks published on Scandinavian territory has likewise been established as the common history of our three countries necessitates that textbooks in one country should not contain anything which is considered false in the other. Hence there is no textbook in use in Norway which has not been approved by this commission.

The Nordic Council was formed in 1952; it consists of Parliament and Government members. The latter are not entitled to vote, while the Council is invested with an advisory character. The fact that both parliament and government members are represented in it seems important to us because the weaknesses which prevail in the Council of Europe are thus avoided. In the Council of Europe there is for instance an advisory assembly which is subject to the veto of the Council of Ministers.

Inter-Scandinavian cooperation can be taken as a practical example of integration. We did not begin with high-flown phrases on Scandinavian federation. We just began

cooperating and we hope that this cooperation will become so strong that all three countries will practically form one entity.

The peoples of Norway, Sweden and Denmark are strongly desirous that Finland should also join the Nordic Council. Actually there is already some degree of cooperation, as Finland has joined various agreements and treaties concluded among the Nordic countries, but she is not a member of the Nordic Council. The reason for this is that Finland had decided, with the consent of the majority of her people, to pursue a policy of good neighbourly relations with the Soviet Union, and, as far as we could understand, the Soviet Union was opposed to Finland's adherence to the Nordic Council. I do not know why the Soviet Union adopted such an attitude: Norway, Sweden and Denmark tried to convince the Soviet Union that the Nordic Council is not an aggressive organisation, that it harbours no dangerous plans and that it does not represent a US stronghold.

I hope however, that the new international situation will not only afford broader scope for Finnish participation in Nordic cooperation, but also enable it to become a member of the Council.

This brief outline of Scandinavian cooperation also explains our views on European integration. We are in favour of integration in principle but we have adopted a reserved attitude with regard to our participation as we are opposed to the idea of a European federation without Great Britain. We are for a gradual approach to the problem of European integration and did not consider expedient the creation of a supra-national organ. We believe this to be the only correct approach to this problem.

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Finally I would like to mention something which is characteristic for Norway, for its foreign policy, and particularly for the foreign political views of its workers' movement, namely that we consider the development of Asia decisive for the future of the Western world in general. This also explains the fact that we have for years voted for the admission of People's Republic of China to the UN. We have always advocated the universality of the United Nations. We consider that the UN should not be a club of countries with kindred views; on the contrary the UN should be the place where the countries and powers which have problems and disputes among them should meet and settle issues peacefully.

The Norwegian Workers' Movement attributes such importance to developments in Asia, that the Norwegian government, with the full support of its public opinion, began the implementation of its own, though modest, technical assistance scheme. Norway is building a fishing port and will also supply the necessary craft etc. in the South Indian town of Travankor. This project is financed by the government and partly also by private contributions. The funds raised from private sources are not great, but it is characteristic that such contributions were given by a very great number of people, which doubtless testifies to the keen interest for Asia.

I have mainly spoken of Norwegian foreign policy and I have not used the term „foreign policy of the Norwegian Workers' Movement" so often. However, as the Workers' Party is in power since 1935 and enjoys an absolute parliamentary majority since 1945, this is in fact one and the same thing. I would also like to add that there are no major differences in foreign political views within the Norwegian Workers' Party. However, the Norwegian Workers' Movement considers that under the present circumstances the international workers' movement can play a more important role and show greater initiative particularly with regard to the liberation of the colonies. This is, needless to say, a difficult task, and the best way to initiate it is to promote closer contacts and exchange of opinion within the international workers' movement.

We are therefore extremely glad that such close relations have developed between the Yugoslav and Norwegian workers' movement. Our wish is to develop these relations still further and better to the benefit of our two countries, to the benefit of peace and socialism.

„BHAKRA — NANGAL"

K. S. MEHTA

AFTER partition, the entire well-developed irrigation system of the Punjab, which has made it a „granary of India" has gone to the share of Pakistan so that with the exception of the Sirhind Canal no other irrigation channel was left with us. There were large arid tracts in Hissar and Rehtak districts where famine had been raging periodically and there was not enough water even for drinking purpose.

By constructing the 680 feet high dam at Bhakra on the Sutlej river, it will be possible to store 7.4 million acre feet of water, in the shape of a huge reservoir behind the dam. The stored water will be let out in a well-regulated manner through sluice gates to be provided in the dam. This will supply irrigation to 6.5 million acres of new land and irrigation in another 3.5 million acres will also be considerably improved. Bhakra — where India's largest multipurpose project, at an estimated cost of Rs. 156 crores is being built, is about 200 miles north west of Delhi. On completion it will save the Indian exchequer about Rs 900 million a year in foreign exchange from the additional annual production of 1.13 million tons of food grains and 800,000 bales of long staple cotton.

The Bhakra-Nangal project comprises (I) the Bhakra dam (II) the Nangal Dam (III) the power plants and (IV) the Bhakra canal system. Now let us take them one by one.

The Bhakra Dam

The 680 ft. high Bhakra dam will be similar in design to the „grand coulee" dam in the United States of America, the design of which was also prepared by Dr. Savage. The dam will be 1700 ft. long at the top while at the lowest point its maximum width excluding the spillway apron will be 625 feet. The top elevation (from sea level) 1700 will have a 30 feet wide road connecting the two ends of the dam wall.

A central spillway in the dam is included in the plan in order to allow flood water to escape, and, thus, protect the dam and the appurtenant work from suffering any damage.

The 260 feet long spillway will be overflow type, and it will have four steel radial gates, each 50 feet long and 37.5 feet high. These gates will cater for 400,000 cusecs of water. At elevation 1320 and el. 1420, two tiers of outlets, are to be provided, and from these water from the reservoir for irrigation purposes will be released. The combined capacity of the irrigation outlets will be 106,000 cusecs. The construction of the dam cannot be undertaken unless the river bed is dried. For this purpose two diversion tunnels on either bank of the river have been excavated. The tunnels are concrete lined and steel ribbed. Diversion of the river will be achieved with the help of two coffer dams upstream and downstream of the dam site. The tunnels are 50 ft. in diameter and each is about half a mile long. Although the Bhakra dam will have a total storage capacity of 7.4 million acre feet of water, only 5.7 million acre feet will be available for irrigation and hydro-electric power generation. The reservoir will, however, form into a beautiful lake, surrounded by the green Shiwalik hills, with the maximum depth being about 550 ft. and the width varying from a few hundred feet near the gorge to several miles. At full supply level, the water in the lake will recede as far as 56 miles, with a surface area of 38,000 acres. The lake has already been named „GROBIND SAGAR", after the tenth Sikh prophet Guru Grobind Singh ji.

Eight miles downstream from the Bhakra dam site is located on the river Sutlej the „Nangal Dam". Work on this dam was taken up in 1948 and completed in 1951.

The Nangal dam has a flood capacity of 350,000 cusecs, is a concrete structure, 1,000 feet long and 91 feet high from the foundation rock. It has 26 bays of 30 feet span each, separated by seven feet wide piers. The top of the dam is 40 feet wide, and a mortable road connects the two ends. An interesting feature of the Nangal dam structure is the double decked shingle excluder, which will prevent shingle and gravel from flowing into the Nangal hydel canal, which takes off from the left bank of the river. The dam has an inspection gallery 25 feet below the crest level for observing its behaviour, and it is said to be the first of its kind in India.

The primary purpose of the Nangal Dam is to serve as a balancing reservoir, taking up diurnal fluctuations from the Bhakra dam. But it is going to perform two other important functions, namely diverting the regulated flow from the Bhakra dam into the Nangal hydel-canal, and at the same time meeting the daily and weakly fluctuations on the powerhouses on the hydel-canal.

The power plants, proposed to be built will have a total ultimate installed capacity of 1,069 million kilowatts. There is provision for further increasing this capacity with the installation of a second power plant at Bhakra. For the present only one power plant will be built, which will have in all 10 generating units, each having a capacity of 90,000 KW.

Of these three powerhouses on the Nangal hydel canal, two are being developed for the present: one at mile 12, near the village of Granguwal, and the other at mile 18 near the village of Kotla. Two generating units, each having a capacity of 24,000 KW, are now being installed at each of these powerhouses but provision has been made for the addition of a third unit later. With the construction of the third powerhouse later at a drop of 60 feet at the end of the canal, the total power potential from the Nangal hydel canal will amount to 160,000 KW.

The opening ceremony of the Ganguwal power house was performed on the 2nd January, 1955, by the Indian president, Dr. Rajendra Prasad. He said: „The power which is being released from here today will not only illumine the country side but also provide one of the principal sources of power for industrial purposes and thus help in bringing material prosperity to the people of the states served by it — Punjab, P.E.P.S.U., Rajasthan, and Himachal Pradesh".

The Granguwal powerhouse incorporates some of the latest developments in the electrical field, a few being introduced in India for the first time.

The ultimate power available from the Bhakra and Nangal plants will be 400,000 KW. Supply of such large quantities will make possible electrification of rural areas, the railways and industry. The electrical grid will cover the Punjab, P.E.P.S.U., Himachal, parts of Rajasthan, the city of Delhi, and parts of western Uttar Pradesh.

It is planned to electrify over 200 towns in some of the states mentioned above. Both heavy and cottage industries are likely to find encouragement. The former include such industries as cotton and woollen textiles, sugar and aluminium factories, paper, cement, oils, and soap and certain electrochemical industries like artificial fertilizers, dyes, acids and alkalis.

Among cottage industries are hosiery, handloom textiles, oil presses, flour and rice mills etc. Some of these are already established in the region to be served by the electrical grid.

The Bhakra canals comprise 690 miles of main and branch canals and 2,100 miles of distributaries. From Nangal to the border of Rajasthan, the Bhakra canal is 238 miles, and is described as „the largest and longest lined canal in the world". The Bhakra Main line, which is a continuation of the Nangal hydel canal, is designed to carry 12,455 cusecs of water.

The remodelled Sirhind canal is designed for a capacity of 12,600 cusecs of water. The Bist Doab Canal, which takes off from the right bank of the Sutlej from the Rupar head works, will irrigate areas lying between the rivers Sutlej and Beas. The total length of channels to be aligned and constructed on this canal system is about 1,200 miles.

SOCIALISM AND LAW[1)]

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IV

THE problem of international law is of particular interest and significance for the relationship of socialism and law. All extremist state-positivist conceptions of law deny the existence of international law as independent and specific legal system. This applies both to the older, „classical", and the more recent, „neo-classical" theories. If law is contemplated exclusively as the volition of the state, or if it is generally considered as a technical instrument of the state or of some other national apparatus, this logically entails the denial of international law, or its conception as a mere reflection or appendage of national i. e. state law. Such formal logic of these conceptions is based on the ideological foundations of these theories. Its ideological roots lie in state absolutism or the absolutist conception of state sovereignty. State absolutism undervalues international norms and obligations, with the exception of the ones it has established and finds useful. It is therefore no wonder that all theories which either consciously or unconsciously, are based ideologically on state absolutism, while choosing state positivism as their legal method, represent international law as a system of more or less idealistic, moral or cosmopolitan precepts, thus in one way or other depriving the norms and obligations governing inter-state relations of their legal character.

Both in view of ideological and scientific considerations the socialist theory of law not only reveals the existence but also emphasizes the indispensability of international law. If law is defined, as we have tried to show, as a normative system which is created under conditions of objective inequality for the purpose of ensuring equal standards to protect the equal rights of the subjects instituting mutual relations, the conclusion is obvious that international law is a necessary legal system in the international community of today. The fact that the norms of international law are not enacted by the state, and are hence not guaranteed by the latter in the form of the world „super state" does not change the essence of the matter. The difference between internal or national, and international law in this respect lies only in the degree it is expressed in the form of obligations and guarantees. However, international law is also essentially the result of the existence and activities of various countries. Its raison d'etre and obligatory character can also be found in the contents of international agreements, or even in the existence of international unions and organisations whose authority and power exceed the power of the individual members.

As a scientific theory socialism does not find the existence and authority of international law only in international relations. Socialism finds the basis of international law in ever closer economic, cultural, political and other ties and the inter-dependence of human society as a whole which is to an increasing extent becoming one world. Apart from the forces of affinity and unity, the internal differences and contradictions in this world are also inevitable. The world at large as well as the societies within the framework of individual states need legal norms for their existence and development; hence such norms grow out of its base organically, regardless of whether individuals or individual countries wish it or not. On the other hand, socialism is the ideology of the free development of peoples and social forces, expressing the historical truth on the existence and need for various ways and forms in the transition, transformation, development and organisation of human society. It is on this basis that the need for cooperation between free and sovereign nations arises, as well as the need to extend economic and other aid to undeveloped countries thus enabling them to reach a higher level of economic and cultural development, and the tendency to liberate peoples from their subjected or semi-dependent position. The positive attitude of socialism towards international law derives not only from its wish for peace and equal rights, but also from the deep changes in the present world marked in its entirety by turmoil and transition in the quest for new social and political systems which will be able to put the achievements of science and technology in the service of mankind and its better life in the future. There are neither wholly new nor entirely old social systems, nor completely backward or absolutely perfect social forms at this stage of international development. Every form of state monopoly, and of the ideological division of the world into closed blocs represent artificial creations which impede the indispensable and free development of the world, and the devising of stable and progressive social and political forms. On such a basis international law becomes increasingly possible, necessary and in the long run positive and progressive. This applies to such a system of international law which will contain those elements of unity, diversity, equal rights and transitoriness deriving from the basic relations and trends of the present world in general.

The conception of international relations as formulated in the term of „peaceful and active coexistence" of states, regardless of their internal social and political systems, and the greater or lesser degree of development and transitoriness of these systems, was called forth as a necessary outcome of the ever increasing economic and social unity of the world, its unity as organised society in transition and transformation. That is why coexistence is not a question of political tactics and a result of the realisation of the immense destructive effect of new scientific inventions if used for military purposes. The foundations of coexistence lie in the structure of today's society and in the awareness of the present situation shared by an ever increasing number of people. Coexistence is the recognition of the fact that no country, however big and developed, and hence no group of states, has neither the right nor strength to rule the world, to impose its system, its ideas and solutions upon other peoples.

The other dominant characteristics of coexistence stem from its sociological basis. Coexistence cannot merely be a new term connoting the division of the world into „spheres of interest", or an agreement between the blocs, a compulsory status quo, or a temporary modus vivendi. It must be increasingly universal, and promote cooperation and equal rights among nations throughout the world. It is inevitably active as it represents an adequate instrument for the solution of individual misunderstandings and conflicts in the world. It is an active principle also because it does not impede the necessary development of the individual peoples towards their national freedom and the free development of the objective social forces towards their political affirmation. But the principle of activity in coexistence precludes the interference and intervention for selfish economic, ideological and political interests by individual countries or groups of countries.

Coexistence must be a realistical, democratic, vital and constructive principle. It is on the basis and within the framework of coexistence, on the threshold of a new industrial revolution brought about by the application of nuclear energy, that the laws of economic and social transformation must find their place, their free functioning and their recognition. Coexistence likewise presupposes and requires the recognition and free functioning of the principle of self-determination of peoples and individuals in the irresistible advance of human society towards independen-

1) Concluding article: see „International Affairs", Nos. June, July, August 1955.

ce, freedom, prosperity and happiness, with the simultaneous linking up and uniting of the peoples of the world on the basis of economic unity, equal rights, self-determination and respect for the individuality and will of others.

Under such objective conditions which mark the development of the present world, the democratic and progressive movements fostering peaceful active coexistence among states and people, find in international law an indispensable factor of consolidation, stabilisation, security and application of objective rules as distinct from „cold war", arbitrariness, violence and lawlessness. As a theory of the development and liberation of human society and man, socialism, peaceful by its nature, advocates the idea of coexistence parallel with the steady advancement and strengthening of international law, i. e. that objective system which ensures the necessary unity and steady development of the international community. Socialism does not claim the establishment of its own „pure socialist international law" as under the present conditions this would be an act of force, contrary to the principle of coexistence. Such a demand would be essentially contrary to the interests of the socialist state and socialist development, and alien to the very idea of socialism. It is also the concern of socialism, however, that the principles of self-determination, free and peaceful coexistence, national independence and sovereign equality of peoples and states be given a prominent place in international law. These are principles for whose recognition all free and democratic movements and peoples are striving today. On the other hand, the cooperation of socialist states and the inclusion of socialist ideas in international law is in the interest of all free peoples, great and small alike. Just as socialism is a legitimate and inevitable phenomenon in the world of today, the strengthening and expansion of socialist elements in international law is legitimate and necessary for the existence, authority and power of international law and the international community.

In spite of its present limitations and insufficient real universality, contemporary international law, based on the mechanism of the United Nations and imbued with the principles of coexistence, is today invested with two manifest functions. In the first place, it is an important means for the preservation of peace and security by the prevention of aggression and the solution of all international issues which might eventually become focal points of aggression, wars, violence, and interference in the free life of nations. This positive, peace-loving and constructive role of international law is its dominant feature and the basic condition of its existence. Second, in the interests of peace, active coexistence based on equal rights, social progress, and the cooperative independence of all peoples, international law checks all extreme individualist and absolutist conceptions of the sovereignty and role of individual countries, big and small alike. International law draws nations closer together, being an expression and confirmation of the increasingly obvious truth that no nation whatever has the right or strength (nor can this be in its interest) to remain aloof from the international community and cooperation.

These functions derive from the social and economic relations of our society and the structure of international relations which necessarily grow out of this basis. Hence, the thus conceived international law is a necessary and progressive factor. Besides revealing it, socialist theory also provides its material, ideological and moral confirmations. Both in theory and practice, socialism maintains a precise and positive attitude towards international law; and this all the more as the latter becomes a factor and instrument of peaceful, active and democratic coexistence.

The attitude of socialism towards international law, apart from certain specific inherent features, is in the long run the continuation and an integral part of socialist theory and practice concerning internal law and law in general. All the different theories on the so-called priority of international or national law, i. e. on which of these two laws enjoys „primacy" or „seniority" belong to the sphere of formal logic, and have been transcended by the present historical development of the world, therefore reflecting class and imperialist ideologies. The origin, basis and preconditions of international, as of any other law, lie in the socio-economic and political relations. It is the expression and instrument of the community which is necessarily an entity, but inevitably an undeveloped entity, where inequality actually prevails, although equality is necessary. Monism of law actually exists but this is a sociological monism. The necessity for an order, for a normative legal state both on the national and international plane, will exist until human society does not create the conditions for complete human and international solidarity, for the free association of individuals and peoples enjoying absolutely equal rights. In so far as law, including international law, contributes to this development, insofar as it becomes an order accepted by an ever greater number of equal individuals and states, it represents an element of civilisation and democracy, world peace, coexistence and social progress.

2. Finally there arises a question of principle which may acquire practical importance today in the practice of socialist society. If law is, as shown, a necessity for socialism and a socialist state, does this also necessarily imply that it remains immutable classic law? In other words, can the process of the so-called withering away of law or, to be more precise, its transformation, be initiated in socialism? Here of course we do not mean the transformation in the contents of the legal system and legal norms as every given society in history reflects its basic social and political relations in the system of law and legal norms. It is therefore understandable that the socialist legal system cannot be identical in substance with the legal system of capitalist society, in the same way as the latter differs fundamentally from that of feudalism. The question of the transformation of law refers to the structure of the legal system as a normative system and to the quality of legal function as such.

Speaking in principle, the reply to the question whether it is necessary and possible to effect such a transformation of law in socialism is inevitably affirmative. Law must reflect the necessary changes in the classic conception of State, required and ultimately enabled by the socialist transformation of society. However, this general postulate is insufficient and may therefore seem abstract and even utopistic if the concrete forms and ways of the transformation of the positive legal system in individual socialist states are not examined, under the assumption that such a transformation has already begun. It is only on the basis of this experience, on the basis of socialist practice, that this question can be realistically and scientifically discussed today.

Law in a socialist state performs two basic functions. The first is so to speak classical and has already been indicated by Marx when he spoke of the necessity of „bourgeois law in socialism". Socialist society, particularly in its initial stages (and historically speaking it is still in this phase) contains a series of contradictions and inequalities which necessitate the existence of state and law. Apart from class relations and conflicts which still prevail in socialism the distribution of the social product can still, at best, be effected according to the principle „to each according to his work". Besides, in socialist society, particularly if the latter is developing out of the conditions of general material, cultural and spiritual backwardness, the individual must still struggle for his own existence, and the contradiction and disharmony of individual and general interests, the tendency to acquire individual or group privileges and domination, together with a survival of a number of traditions, habits, mental attitudes and other forms of behaviour stemming from capitalism as well as from the earlier socio-economic systems cannot be avoided.

Under such conditions the state is indispensable, and law is one of its elements and conditions of existence. But law, although invested with the classic function of maintaining the ruling social and political system is not only an instrument of this system, and an expression of the will of the ruling class, particularly if this will is understood as uniform, static, and given in advance as a mere reflection of a new form of governing people. On the contrary, the purpose of law is to ensure a system based on equal rights, to become an increasingly objective universal normative element, to preserve and enable that „exchange of equivalents" which must be steadily promoted parallel with the progressive abolishment of the remnants of class inequality in the treatment of industry and agriculture, and with the ever increasing enforcement of the socialist principle in the distribution of the social product according to the quality and quantity of labour put in it by the producers and other citizens. Apart from this, the objectivity and elaboration of the legal system are ensured by the economic and social relations of socialism which require the elimination of a series of contradictions, particularly

hose between individual and general interests, by means f norms enacted by the state and individuals, based on ialogues between the highest state representative bodies nd the producers and their organisations.

The second basic function of law in socialism derives rom the processes of democratization, de-etatization, de-entralization and the setting up of communal and social elf-management. The law formulates, regulates and con-olidates the new relations which arise from these far-eaching social and political changes and at the same time erves for the protection of the new, socialistic natural ights of the autonomous and self-governing social organs nd institutions, as well as the new rights of self-manage-ent of producers in economy, and the right of citizens' elf-government in political and social life.

The external changes in the implementation of this unction can be clearly established and studied, for instan-e in present day Yugoslavia. First, the legislative process as been notably democratized. Laws and other normative cts are enacted after hearing the opinions and proposals f the social institutions, local self-government bodies and itizens' associations concerned. The centralism of legisla-ive activities is primarily reflected in the fundamental ssues of the social, economic and political system. Apart rom the people's republics, whose legislative rights stem aturally from the federal constitution, the local self-go-erning bodies are also invested with legislative rights and nitiative. Individual rules are enacted by chambers and ther associations of producers and their independent eco-omic organisations, autonomously or with the assent of the espective highest representative bodies of the country.

The internal structure of the legal system changes pa-allel with these innovations. The scope of Constitutional aw is broadened at the expense of Administrative Law. his change is a result of de-etatization, of the reduction f state intervention in economic and other social relations, f the affirmation of the social management system in local ommunities, as well as in the sphere of education, science, ulture, public health, social insurance, social services, house anagement etc. Constitutional law determines rights, uarantees the self-governing basis and establishes the re-tions necessary for the basic unity of this complex self-overning and decentralized social and political mechanism. n autonomous law of self-governing institutions and bo-ies is thus evolving within the framework of constituti-nal limits and guarantees.

Moreover, the very normative structure of law is gra-ually changing, enriched by new forms which gradually ivest law as a normative system of its imperative charac-r in favour of moral and political factors. The number of nperative acts, particularly in the field of administration as been notably reduced. A new legal branch, the so-alled social management law is acquiring an increasingly nportant position, thus setting itself widely apart from the amework of the classical state administrative law. Ele-ents of de-etatization as well as general rules of prin-ple predominate in the new law. The scale of legal acts being extended in the meantime. Apart from enacting ws and other normative acts, the people's assemblies and eople's committees issue resolutions, declarations and re-mmendations. The latter acts imply the transformation, e „withering away" as it were, of normative acts in the eld of the relations of the community and state towards e self-governing economic and communal organisations nd other autonomous institutions.

The entire process of socialization, democratization and e-etatization of Law still evolves within the framework the basic legal documents enacted by the highest repre-ntative bodies such as the Federal People's Assembly in ugoslavia. Hence the increased socio-political and ormative significance of the Constitution and laws, as ell as of lawfulness and constitutionality.

There is no place for anarchical and petty-bourgeois gal nihilism or a mechanical „abolishment" of law in so-alist society. The fundamental principle of the organisa-on and existence of a socialist state is government by w. However, as unequivocally shown in practice, socia-m necessitates changes and transformations in the struc-re and forms of legal functions. In some cases, particu-rly during the initial stages of socialist development, the nportant and extensive role of legal functions, the necessi-for a developed legal system and numerous legal regu-tions may arise. This phenomenon can be contrary to cialism and socialist legal theory only in case the legal

system becomes an instrument of the doctrine and practice in which the state is the exclusive and absolute instrument of government over society and socialist development. However, under such conditions the eventual saturation of society by law is only apparent, as the role of law is purely formal, while social relations are regulated by the orders of a centralised state apparatus. Non-democratic and totalitarian social and political systems cannot tolerate law as an objective system and are opposed to the principle of government by law. It is the socialist democracy based on socialized means of production, on citizens' and producers' self-management, which alone requires and ensures an objective legal system, i. e., government by law which precludes despotism, autocracy, privileges and every unjustified monopoly.

Consequently a comparatively extensive and developed legal system can mark a stage in the transformation of law and preparation for deeper changes in the scope and character of the function of social regulation. This occurs at those stages of socialist development when law is invested with the function of de-etatization, socialization and democratization, when it affirms the rights of citizens and self-governing institutions as distinct from administrative regulation, state intervention and subjugation of social life and its free development. Under such conditions law, far from reducing self-government actually establishes it and promotes the free activities of people. It checks all attempts to impede the development and affirmation of self-government and human rights.

Such a legal system influences the education of consciousness of citizens and institutions. It tends to become a non-normative and social-moral progress. Needless to say, the real change in the character of social normative functions, the actual withering away of legal norms, can only take place when the necessary material, moral and psychological conditions have been created, when society and man can develop without any special intervention, external regulation and legal obligations. This does not mean that society will not even then require a system of social rules and rules of behaviour whose enforcement must be guaranteed in certain cases by the organized action of the community. We cannot call this system of rules law, if we understand law as a historical phenomenon conditioned by internal relations and processes marked by the inception and development of class society and the state. However, as no radical changes in the state, still less its withering away, are possible unless they are initiated in the socialist period of social development, thus there can be no withering away of law if no changes take place in the structure and role of legal functions in socialist society. This scientific postulate includes the assertion that every material and spiritual progress of socialist society requires and creates new and more radical changes of law than those which we can examine and explain today. The further course and forms of transformation and withering away of legal functions in a more developed socialist society will only be revealed by the practice of such a society.

Problems of the Agricultural Market in Yugoslavia

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This is the first part of the article by Radivoje Hercog, dealing with the problems of agricultural market and the trade between town and country, which are currently among the most important problems of Yugoslav economy. The article will be continued in our next issue.

AFTER the administrative measures in Yugoslav economy were abolished a very high demand was felt on the agricultural market. Since then the prices of agricultural products have been slowly but constantly increasing, while all the time up to 1954 the prices of industrial goods consumed by the farming population were decreasing. Certain increases in prices of industrial goods in 1955 were far smaller than the further increases in prices of agricultural products. Thus throughout this period the terms of trade have shown a constant tendency in favour of the agricultural producers.

In considering the fundamental causes of these developments, due attention must be paid to the forces which had given the general direction to the development of Yugoslav economy in this period. From the very beginning the chief aims of economic policy were dictated by the inherited economic backwardness. The work of transforming a backward, purely agrarian economy into a progressive agrarian-industrial one was a very difficult undertaking. The task was made more difficult by the fact that the industrialization of the country (with the emphasis on basic industries) had to be carried out in the period of international tension, so that it was necessary to work persistently on the preservation of the hard-won independence of the country relying primarily on our own resources and possibilities.

But, in spite of these unfavourable conditions, among which we must also include several bad harvests, industrial production has been more than doubled since the pre-war period, even if all the new projects have not yet been set in operation.

The concentration of the entire potential of the country on so great aims, could not but reflect itself on the home economy. Progress under the said conditions could not have been equal in all branches of economy, or in all the parts of the country. The national income had to be distributed unequally, investments allocated unevenly, and so on. This affected and still affects the market, on which economic laws acted increasingly more effectively as it was being freed from administrative restrictions.

Agriculture, the technical facilities of the agricultural market and the food industry are the fields in which least investments have been made. From 1947 to 1954 only 9.6% of the total economic investments went to agriculture. About two thirds of this fund had to be spent on the construction of the necessary buildings, which affect agricultural production only in an indirect way. If, apart from this, we remember that in the time of administrative measures (compulsory deliveries of produce to the state, fixed prices etc.), investments by individual producers in agriculture were small, it will become clear that there were no chances of rapidly developing agricultural production. The effect of the changes which took place after the market became freer is already felt, particularly in livestock breeding. The community, however, was not then in a position to set aside such funds as would produce a radical change in agricultural development, but even so the situation in this respect was improving from year to year.

The lack of investment funds, together with the great changes in the ownership relations in agriculture and discouraging administrative measures, (although they were necessary at a definite period) etc., have greatly affected agricultural production and its marketability, i.e. the fun damental factor of supply in the agricultural market. O the other hand, the construction of industry and the de velopment of other branches of economy resulted in a gre ater volume of employment of the considerably increase population, which swelled the ranks in towns and industri centres. Thus, the needs for foodstuffs and industrial ra material grew, and the demand on the agricultural mark increased.

This summing up of the conditions on the agricultur market in the past years is all the more necessary becaus the Yugoslav economy is just completing the most difficu period of its development, and approaching the settlemer of the disproportions caused by this development.

THE GENERAL PROBLEM OF THE AGRICULTURAL MARKET

Production is one of the most important factors in th market. In discussing the agricultural market with predo minantly small farmers' production, due consideration mus also be given to the marketability of such production.

In Yugoslavia agricultural production has been charac terized by considerable fluctuations from year to yea Owing to the lack of investment funds it has remaine insufficiently protected against adverse weather condition In the post-war years the average yearly volume of pro duction has been about the same as before the war. Onl in good years it was greater than before the war by 11 to 12%, as was the case in 1951 and 1953. In the exceptio nally bad year, 1952, it was 26% smaller than the averag yearly production from 1930 to 1939.

After the war there was the tendency to intensify lan cultivation. Areas under industrial and fodder crops an vegetables were expanded. The production of such crop was increased, but not in proportion to the expanded are of cultivation. This is particularly true of some of th industrial crops; the reason is that they began to be cultivate also on land of poorer quality, that new producers had no enough experience and that there was a lack of manpowe

The question of grain production is of even greate importance for the agricultural market. The expansion areas under industrial and other crops was made at th expense of grain production. This tendency would have bee positive if it had been accompanied by corresponding incre ases of grain yields per hectare. But this was not the cas for while areas under grain were decreased by about 13 the average increases in yields of wheat amounted to onl about 4%, rye to about 10%, barley about 7%, while th yields of maize even decreased by about 13% all compare to the average pre-war output. Accordingly, the averag post-war production of grain, particularly of maize, wa smaller than before the war. Only in good years the pro duction of white grain was greater than before the wa while the production of maize was even below the ave rage pre-war output.

The production of fruit and wine is now greater tha before the war. But here, too, production is liable to gre fluctuations from year to year. Thus for instance, in 19 Yugoslavia produced about 74% more fruit and 50% mo grapes and wine than in the average years before the wa but in 1952 the production of fruit was 10% and the produ tion of grapes and wine 19% smaller than the average pre war yearly produce.

The average livestock production in the first post-w years was smaller than before the war. In the last fe years, however, it had been growing at an increasing quicker pace, so that in 1954 it was already about 7 greater than the pre-war average. And this year Yug slavia has 25% more cattle, 35% more pigs, 17% more

sheep and 9% more poultry than in 1939. But in spite of these favourable trends, the production of meat, milk, eggs and wool reached the pre-war average only in 1954, while the production of lard is still smaller than before the war by about 7%. This fact must be ascribed to the insufficient and improper feeding of livestock, particularly during winter months.

In countries with predominantly small farmers' production the marketability of agricultural production is relatively small. The quantity of market surpluses of crops is subject to greater fluctuations than the volume of agricultural production as a whole, because owing to the unchanging volume of home consumption of small producers, the market surpluses are progressively affected by the succession of good and bad harvests. All this holds good for the marketability of Yugoslav agricultural production, since the surpluses of large farms have not yet been able to change the situation to any appreciable extent. The large farms began to specialize for particular crops only a few years ago, so that they will considerably influence the market of some products in the future.

Some other factors affecting the marketability of agricultural produce in the free market should also be pointed out. The marketability of agricultural produce grows when the producers find it economically profitable to offer more products for sale, and decreases when they do not. It must be added that it was only in the last few years that the production of industrial consumer goods sought by the farming population began to be increased, and that there are not yet sufficient quantities of reproduction and investment goods needed by the farmers, at least not in a satisfactory variety. By absorbing the purchasing capacity of farmers into these articles, the marketability of agricultural products will be increased.

There is one more factor which has exerted unfavourable influence on the marketability of agricultural production. In the post-war period the material position of small farmers has been greatly improved through the new policy of compulsory deliveries and taxation and through the opportunities opened to them to increase their income by taking seasonal jobs in industry, building and forestry. In that way, the small and medium-size holdings receive a much larger income than before the war, which is likely to cause an increase in their home consumption of high quality products, such as meat, fats, milk and so on, so that in this way too the quantities of products offered for sale are decreased.

As we have said, agricultural production and its marketability are the fundamental factors of supply on the agricultural market, which can be only moderately affected by foreign trade (exports and imports).

In contrast to the agricultural production and market supply, almost unchanged since the pre-war period, the postwar demand for foodstuffs and raw material produced by farmers has been constantly growing.

In 1939 Yugoslavia had, as it is estimated, about 15.7 million inhabitants, and about 17.6 million in mid—1955. In the 1948—1953 period alone the population was increased by 1,115.000, or 7.3%. It means an added need for about 36,000 tons of grain, some 38,000 tons of meat, 14,600 tons of fats and so on.

The relation between supply and demand on the agricultural market has not been influenced only by the increases in population, but also by the changes in its structure. Although the population as a whole has been increased, the number of the inhabitants who depend for their living on agriculture has fallen. From 1948 to 1953 the agricultural population decreased by over a million, or 9%, while in the same period the non-agricultural population increased by over 2 million, or 47%.

Greater opportunities of employment in industry, building, and transport (as compared to those that existed before the war) have created a situation in which the developed urban economy absorbed the entire population increase, and there was even an absolute decrease in agricultural population. Taking the census years the agricultural population was from 1931 to 1953 decreased by 3%, while the non-agricultural population was in the same period almost doubled.

These changes in the social structure of the population, positive in essence, have fundamentally affected the relations on the agricultural market. The departure of a large number of most active inhabitants (for such they were) from the rural areas could not remain without influence on the quality of agricultural work, and on production itself. On the other hand, the one-time farmers who came to towns increased their incomes and improved their living conditions, so that a greater and sound demand had been felt on the market. A large part of their increased income was spent on the agricultural market.

A very rough idea of the disproportions in supply and demand on the agricultural market can be got out of the following comparison between the income of the urban population (wages and earnings, pensions, assistance and income from services) and the quantity of agricultural products brought to market:

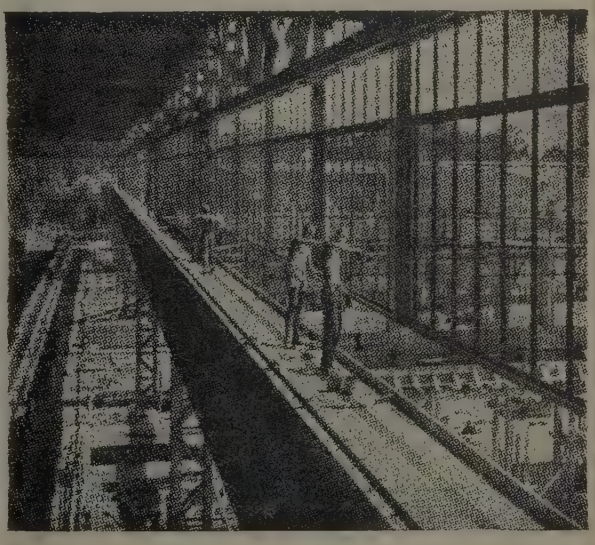
Year	1952	1953	1954	1955*
Income of town dwellers	100	157	179	216
Quantity of produce offered for sale	100	125	128	139

* (estimated figures)

This shows that, even if no other sources of buying power on the agricultural market are taken into account (such as industry, exports, the army, etc.) the demand is increasing much more quickly than the supply. This disproportion could have been mitigated only to a certain extent by increases in stocks of industrial consumer goods and in various services.

This high demand on the agricultural market has had some effect also on our foreign trade and balance of payments. The increased post-war consumption of foodstuffs and raw material first forced us to reduce the exports of agricultural products, and then to import grain and fats, and, occasionaly, other products as well. Their tendency to reduce the exports and increase the imports of agricultural products at the time when the import of equipment for industry and for the country's defence was an imperative need, weighted heavily on the balance of payments, and became one of the chief causes of its deficit. This was also reflected on our agricultural market. Now, the need to gradually decrease and ultimately eliminate our foreign trade deficit demands great efforts. Under free market conditions this can be done only by stimulating exports, In the last few years this stimulus has been given by enabling importers to use freely a definite percentage of the foreign currency they earn. This step, together with the increasing foreign exchange rates at Yugoslav clearing houses, created for the importers broad possibilities of profitable activities, which cannot be ascribed to the conditions on the home market. Thus, an additional purchasing power was created, which was of great significance, particularly on the livestock market.

In considering the general conditions on an agricultural market characterized by considerable fluctuations of otherwise insufficient volume of production, we must mention



A detail from a Yugoslav factory

another important condition for the stabilization of the market, i. e. the reserves of food. With such reserves it is possible to alleviate the difficulties in the transition from bad to good years without causing any great upheavals in the relations of prices, that is, in the stability of the market. However, with the tense distribution of the national income and deficitary foreign balance of payments, no great reserves of food could be created in the past years, and that negatively affected the stability of the market, and caused losses in foreign currency.

SOME SPECIFIC PROBLEMS OF THE AGRICULTURAL MARKET

In addition to the said factors which have caused fundamental changes in the post-war conditions of supply and demand, the action of definite measures has also been felt on the agricultural market. The aim of these direct or indirect economic measures was to influence the movements on the agricultural market so as to bring the living standards of the urban and rural populations in harmony with the existing economic possibilities. These measures included the fixing of prices of some basic foodstuffs, a special regime in the traffic of grain, the importing of some products and their sale at fixed prices, a definite policy of taxation, and so on. All these measures had a definite influence on the forming of mutual relations (parity) between prices of agricultural products, as well as on their general level. Furthermore, owing to the concentration of the economic resources of the country on the realization of the fundamental economic aims, there were, as we have already said, no sufficient funds for the improvement of the material and technical basis of the agricultural market, for the development of the food industry, for the still larger investments in communications and so on.

Due to these reasons agricultural products reach the consumer in a round-about way, so that there are great differences in prices at various places, caused often by speculative trade.

The insufficiently developed road and railway communications, the slowness and poor technical equipment of transport (refrigerator cars and railway waggons) make traffic of agricultural goods between rural municipalities and their district centres in some parts of the country very difficult, and unfavourably affect the agricultural market as a whole. Likewise, the shortage of storage room, and the lack of the necessary refrigerators etc. in the commercial network, prevent the normal traffic with agricultural products and the storing of reserves.

The public forms of the agricultural market are not sufficiently developed — in fact they just began to be developed in the last two years. The lack of well developed wholesale markets and stock-exchanges in the centres of producing regions, in large towns and industrial centres and the poor technical equipment of the market places are the most serious deficiencies and causes of backwardness of the agricultural market. These deficiencies, under conditions of an insufficient agricultural production and poor connections in the market are one more cause of the instability of the market.

As a result, we still have backward forms of trade with agricultural products, such as the direct selling of articles by the producer to the consumer (peasant markets) even in the largest centres.

Furthermore, the inadequate organization of the wholesale market gives rise to a detrimental way of collecting agricultural products from the producers at their homes to the so-called „system of agents", which provides opportunities for various speculative elements. Considered from the economic point of view, under such conditions it is impossible to establish a price level of agricultural products corresponding to the supply-demand relation, because the demand is concentrated in the most easily accessible places, while the supply is thoroughly broken and dispersed.

THE MOSAICS OF RAVENNA

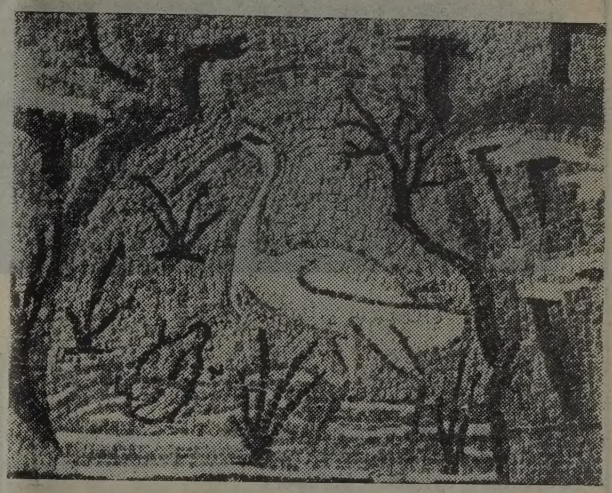
Marko RISTIĆ

President, Committee for Foreign Cultural Relations

THE extraordinary copies — and this word I must use for the lack of a better, more correct and just description of these artistic re-creations, of the miraculous mosaics of Ravenna, which we can now admire at this exhibition, do not show us only the reflection of a beauty imagined and created long ago, but the beauty itself, the beauty which ignores the change of ages, historical necessities and chances, which does not care for ideologies or aesthetics, which survives the empires, civilizations and religions under which its individual incarnations were created. These mosaics of Ravenna speak, in the language of the rainbow in the sky, the special and brilliant language, of the eternity of beauty which man can create and arrest in the matter. They show that this beauty, although bound by the matter, dependent on the beliefs and conceptions of the times in which it originated, and conditioned by the purpose given it by definite people and definite times, remains, if it is right, humane and poetical, free and stronger than what it was to serve originally.

The purpose of these mosaics was to adorn basilicas and mausoleums, to praise the unearthly divine glory, or, as it was the case with the mosaics in San Vitale Church, the Christian theocracy of Emperor Justinian and Empress Theodora. The style of these mosaics, made in the 5th and 6th century, when the art of Constantinople had advanced so much that it exerted a sovereign influence on the local Mediterranean styles, is undoubtledly Byzantine in character, particularly in the works of the 6th century, in which the deep blue background of starry skies is replaced by the unreal background of pure gold, in which the monumental, pitiless, rigid and hieratic human figure dominates all other elements of life (like those 5th century ones in the Galla Placidia mausoleum, still so Helenic in their grace and softness), in which the two-dimensional plasticity takes place of the spacious depth. But, regardless of their purpose and style, these mosaics, just as our own frescoes, whose style and purpose are so similar to theirs, speak to us, primarily by their beauty, of man's need for artistic expression, of his wonderful need and ability to add his own creations to the creations of Nature, to set against the beauty of Nature, which is beauty only because man sees and feels it as such, the beauty conceived by his intellect and created by his genius. The triumph over death is here no longer a religious symbol. The West Roman Empire whose seat was in Ravenna during the 5th century,

S. Apollinare Nuovo: The Symbol of Evangelist Luke



S. Vitale: The Heron and the Tortoise

Theodoric's Ostrogothic Kingdom, and Justinian's Christian Empire have long disappeared, but the Ravenna mosaics and the empire of their beauty, still live; they are still vital and ravishing, mysterious and human. East and West are forever united in this empire of art which has no boundaries, and whose language is understood by all men worthy of the name. The splendour of the empires had long been extinguished, but the Ravenna mosaics continue to shine with their white and gold against blue, white, emerald and purple against gold, with their mysterious, deep, final and undeniable radiant accords of countless small stones.

This exhibition also shows that people and nations, who in the moments of inspiration speak the same language, have been created to understand each other, to get together on the unselfish work of creating a universal humanistic culture, the work which is in the interest of them all just because it is unselfish. This exhibition shows that the cultures of the Italian and our own people can, more than any other national culture, base their present and future contacts and cooperation on their common traditions, and that they can, in their united development, turn to the same clear and deep sources of an ancient but everlasting, immortal inspiration. At the moment when brighter horizons are opening to the wearied nations of Europe, and not only of Europe, but of the whole world, let this exhibition, as a move towards the realization of the great idea of bringing people closer to each other in the intellectual and artistic field, mark a significant step in the development of cultural ties of our two countries — Italy and Yugoslavia, which naturally depend on one another, whose cooperation is in the interest, not only of our own people, but of all peoples in the world. Today the peoples are aware that they all have a common fate in this world and that it largely depends on their mutual cooperation for peace and progress. And great art, as this shown at the exhibition of Ravenna mosaics, cannot but be a noble inspiration and a precious contribution to such cooperation.

„ELIP“ electroindustrial enterprise Zemun, Bežanija

There is an ever-increasing number, not only here but abroad as well are acquainted with the products manufactured by the „Elip" Electroindustrial enterprise, Zemun, Bežanija.

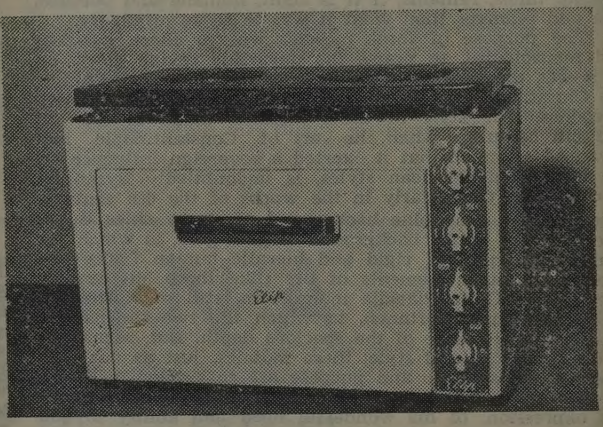
The factory was erected in the year 1949, and it is most modern among those of its kind in Yugoslavia.

„Elip" has begun its production on a very modest scale.

In the year 1951, the factory produced only five articles. In the course of its five year development, however, „Elip" has greatly increased its range of production. Today this factory manufactures about 40 different kinds of articles.

The most important groups are:
Dry and oil automatic protective breakers
Universal cylinder breakers
Three pole lever breakers
Star triangle switch starter
Relays for hoists
Installation material and Thermic apparatures for household.
which have the biggest sale

Besides these articles, Elip is also manufacturing new products, viz. —



Oil and dry automatic protective breakers for higher current than 15 Amperes.

Lever commutators (Throw-over switch)
Universal star triangle starters — triangle.
Automatic circuit breakers, pressure
Automatic protective fuses for 6 Amp.
Automatic single pole breakers.
Electric ovens.
Electric ranges.
The ballasts for fluorescent light.

From 1951 to 1953 Elip's products have chiefly been intended for domestic consumption. Since the year 1953 „Elip" has been also marketing its products abroad. The countries most interested in „Elip's" products are: Turkey, Lebanon, Syria, Egypt, etc.

„Elip's" products clearly show that in the near future there will be new successes.
The quality, as well as the large variety are a safe guarantee for good business with „Elip".

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NON-METALS AND THEIR PRODUCTS:

Raw asbestos, special asbestos fibre, asbestos yarn, asbestos fabric, braids and gaskets, „Klingerit" and „Ferodo" belts, „Manloch" bands, vulcanised fibre, „Pertinax", electric insulation material as well as all other unspecified material for insulation and sealing. Special fabrics and textile tubing, hempen products for industry, felt, jute and other textile materials for technical purposes.

RUBBER AND PLASTIC MATERIALS:

Gum, lastex and their products. Rubber belts, V-belts, rubber discs for insulation and other technical purposes, rubber and lastex tubing and similar products. Rubber gloves for high tension. Polyvinyl, chloride, polystyrene, celluloid, acetyl-celluloid, bakelites, aminoplastics and other plastic materials and their products. Cellophane.

LEATHER AND LEATHER GOODS:

All kinds of leather products for industry. All sizes of belts, leather aprons, leather mining helmets, etc.

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